

THE
C A . S E
of Constantine OF THE *Phipps*
Sacramental Test

STATED and ARGU'D;

Particularly, with Relation to the

PRESBYTERIANS
from ye OF *Author*
IRELAND.

Humbly Submitted to the Consideration of
the NOBILITY and GENTRY of this

KINGDOM.

By *William Tisdall*, D. D.

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THE P R E F A C E.

THE *Pressing Importunity of the Dissenters of Ireland, to have the Sacramental Test repeal'd, or exchang'd, for any other Bill of Exclusion, is the very Reason why the Conformists should insist upon, and preserve it; because 'tis plain what the Kirk takes to be her greatest Impediment, must be the Church's greatest Security; and therefore in hopes to animate the Conformists with equall Resolution in defending, as the Dissenters have shewn in attacking this Excellent Law, I will preface the ensuing Arguments, with an Historicall Account of the severall Attempts which have been made against it, and the rather because I am perswaded it will plead my Excuse*
and

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and shew the Reasonableness if not Necessity of this Undertaking.

In Order therefore to let the Reader see the Pantings and Breathings of the Presbyterians after Civil and Military Power, and their Resolution to beat down this Fortress which keeps them out of it; I will shew in what Manner they have endeavoured as well to prevent, as to repeal the Sacramental Test.

All discerning Men saw in what Manner the Church was exposed, when the Oath of Supremacy was repealed which had been the Church's great Security, since the 2d. of Elizabeth, against the Principles both of Papists and Presbyterians who equally refused it.

I presume it is no Secret now to tell the Reader, that the repeal of that Oath open'd a Sluice and let in such a Current of Dissenters into our Corporations, as bore down all before them, and put them into a Capacity, to concert a Monopoly of Trade in Ulster, and enabled them to make so many Erections (as they call them) of new Congregations thro'out the Kingdom of which see more in the Conduct of the Dissenters of Ireland.

Although the Sacramental Test had been for a Considerable Time in force in England, yet that Law did not reach Ireland, where the Church was more oppressed by Dissenters; and where her most Sanguin Friends were glad to compound, to preserve what Legal Security she had left, rather than to attempt any new, or even to recover what she had lost, and in truth they had no Reason to expect it, at a Time when the Dissenters had the Interest to have a Motion made and debated in Parliament, that there might be a Temporary Repeal of all the Penal Laws against 'em, and when they were so flush'd with the Conquest.

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quest they had made in our Corporations, as to reject all Overtures of a Toleration; and to that End, had employ'd their Operator Mr. Boyse to write against it with the Utmost Contempt and Indignation: calling it a Stone instead of Bread; a Serpent instead of a Fish.

when the Church was in this Condition, the Clause of the Sacramental Test was happily sent over from England, tack'd to the Popery Bill, which alarm'd the whole Body of the Dissenters to that Degree, that their Managers began to ply with the greatest Artifice, and Industry, to prevent it's passing into a Law. They sooth'd flatter'd, and made large Promises; They upbraided threaten'd, and turn'd themselves into all Postures, according to the Characters and Tempers of the Persons to whom they apply'd; but all to no Purpose, For to the Honour of that Parliament be it spoken, the whole Body of both Lords and Commons (some few excepted) pass'd the Clause with great Readiness, and defended it afterwards with as great Resolution.

This sudden Blow dispirited the Dissenters for some Time, and was a Seasonable Refreshment to the Conformists. It prov'd like the Pillar of Fire and Cloud to the Isralites and Egyptians, It was Light to those, but was a Cloud of Darknejs to these; inso-much that their Pursuit was stopp'd, and the Charriot Wheels of their Drivers were taken off.

The immediate Consequence of this Law was the Recovery of Several Corporations, which the Conformists had given up to the Dissenters, and the Preservation of Others, to which that Enterprizing People had made very Bold and Quick Approaches: Of which, see more in the Conduct of the Dissenters from Page 19 to Page 25.

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One might now have reasonably expected, that this Signal Defate wou'd have Discourag'd the Dissenters from any further Attempts against a Law, which had so Unanimously pass'd both Houses: But the contrary soon appear'd.

For upon meeting of the Parliament, held by the Earl of Pembroke, they quickly re-assum'd their wonted Courage and Confidence. and made no Doubt but they shou'd either procure an Absolute Repeal thereof, or get it so far mollifi'd and relax'd, as that they might be admitted to Offices of Military Trust, to this they apprehended themselves encourag'd by a Paragraph in his Excellencie's Speech to both Houses (which they applied to themselves) which was, That the Queen wou'd be glad of any Expedient for strengthening the Interest of her Protestant Subjects of Ireland.

The Advocates for the Dissenters immediately took hold of this Handle, and in Order to prepare the Way for this Expedient, insisted boldly upon the Merit and Loyalty of the Presbyterians, charg'd the Church with Persecution, and extoll'd the Signal Behaviour of the Presbyterians in the late Revolution, to that Degree, as if by their Singular Prowess they had sav'd the Nation.

But all this, was only to prepare the Way for the Grand Engine, which was forming to beat down this Law; and that was their Expedient Addresses.

The First of this Kind, was from a Provincial Synod of the Northern Dissenters, beginning with high Encomiums upon themselves, and as High Demands from the Publick, for their untainted Loyalty in all Turns of Government, which they said was the Natural Consequence of their Known Principles; Expressions, which had they been apply'd to them by their Adversaries, must have been understood

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as spoken Ironically, and indeed to have been the greatest Sarcasm imaginable upon 'em; Especially, when we consider the Insolent treatment given to her Majesty in the very same Address; for immediately after they pass this Complement upon themselves, they tell her Majesty they Deeply regret the Sacramental Test; and frankly, declar'd that neither the Gentlemen, nor People of their Perswasion cou'd (they meant, wou'd) Serve her, whatever Exigences might arise, unless that Law was repeal'd.

The Managers for the Kirk, following this Precedent endeavour'd to obtain Addresses to the same Purpose from the Corporations, and tho' they prov'd unsuccessful in most, they procur'd them from several of our most considerable Conforming Corporations; and that too at a Critical Juncture, when Numbers of Scotch Presbyterians, who had deserv'd well in the Affair of the Union, and cou'd not be rewarded in England (where the Test Act was in Force) stood ready to overrun our Preferments as soon as the Test shou'd be repeal'd in Ireland.

But after all their Efforts, when it came to a decisive Tryal in the House of Commons, the Dissenters were defeated, and to their great Surprize were given up by Numbers of their Promising Friends.

When the Managers found the House of Commons cou'd not be brought into that Scheme of an Expedient, to be offer'd by them; their Refinement upon this was to move for an Address, That the House wou'd accept of an Expedient from Her Majesty, but this also was rejected; for by this Project the Managers wou'd have led the Queen into this Dilemma, either to disoblige the whole Body of the Dissenters, by refusing to name the Expedient, or else to give up the Conformists to the Insults and Encroachments of the Dissenters, by a Repeal of that
Law

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Law which was declar'd by the House of Lords to be the great Security of the Establish'd Church, and of the English Interest of Ireland.

The next Attempt they made against the Test was during the Government of my Lord Wharton.

The Dissenters seem'd more resolute now than ever, to have it repeal'd, especially when His Excellency had declar'd from the Throne, that they were neither to be persecuted nor molested. For they who had all along call'd the Test Act a Persecution, might reasonably conclude that Grievance wou'd be remov'd; when they were told by the Chief Governour, that they were not to be even molested. But to their great Confusion they were soon undeciev'd, when they found upon Tryal that the House of Commons wou'd not bear the least Motion towards it, and afterward when His Excellency declar'd solemnly he never intended it.

Their Movements to repeal the Test being stop'd this Way; the Managers were oblig'd to take several other Ways to come at it: And at the Time that some pretended to sooth others threat'n'd even the Legislature with a View (as must be presum'd) that those, whom they cou'd not cajole, might be frighten'd into it.

There happen'd about the Time, when the Project, of the Expedient was on Foot, an Excellent Occasion to express their Resentments against this Law: and that was when great Numbers of them refus'd the Oath of Allegiance, and to oppose the Pretender; insisting upon a Repeal of the Test Act, as the Condition of their arming in Defence of their Queen and Country.

The Government was not reduc'd to such Sreights as to submit to that Condition; and the Test stood firm, in Spite of both the Dissenters, and the Pre-

tender

tender untill the Latter was driven from our Coasts; and then one wou'd have thought the hopes of the Former, wou'd have vanish'd with him.

But it prov'd quite contrary: For those Sons of the Earth, rebounding with Fresh Vigour from their Falls, recover'd new Strength and Spirit from every Defeat, and the next Attempt was bolder (considering the Circumstances they were in) than any they had made before.

The Case was this; The House of Lords of Ireland had accus'd them to the Queen of Several Illegal Practices, weich highly concern'd the Safety of our Constitution, both in Church and State: The particulars of which Charge, were Sum'd up in a Representation from the Lords to this Effect.

That they (the Dissenters) had oppos'd and persecuted the Conformists, in those Parts where their Power prevaild, had invaded their Congregations, propagated their Schism in Places where it had not the least Footing formerly; that they were protected from a Legal Prosecution by a *noli prosequi* in the Case of Drogheda.

That they refus'd to take *Conforming Apprentices*, and confin'd Trade among themselves, exclusive of the Conformists.

That in their *Illegal Assemblies* they had prosecuted and censur'd their People for being married according to Law.

That they had thrown publick and Scandalous Reflections upon the *Episcopal Order*, and upon our Laws, particularly the *Sacramental Test*. and had misapply'd the *Royal Bounty* of 1200*l* per Annum, in propagating their Schism, and undermining the Church; and had exercis'd an *Illegal Jurisdiction* in their *Presbyteries* and *Synods*. &c.

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To this Representation of the Lords, the Dissenters remonstrate in an Address to the Queen, or rather an Appeal to their own People, in which, altho it is evident they were Conscious of those Crimes whereof they stood accus'd, as appears by the Evasions they make to this High Charge. Yet even under these Circumstances (such was their Modesty) they pressed for a Repeal of the Test Act, by the Modest Appellation of a Grievance, and Odious Mark of Infamy. &c. Of which more hereafter.

There is one Particular in another Address which I cannot omit. The House of Lords in their Representation, had Accus'd one Dissenting Teacher in Particular. (well known to be Mr. Io: Boyse) The Charge was in these Words.

Nor has the Legislature it self escap'd the Censure of a Bold Author of their's, who has publish'd in Print, that the *Sacramental Test* is only an Engine to advance a State Faction, and to debase Religion, to serve base and unworthy Purposes.

To this Mr. Boyse answers, in an Address to the Queen in the Year 1712, Subscrib'd only by himself, and five more Dissenting Teachers in these Words.

As to this Part of their Lordships Complaint, we beg leave to lay before your Majesty the Words of that Author, which are these.

Nor can we altogether excuse those, who turn the Holy Eucharist into an Engine, to advance a State Faction, and endeavour to confine the Common Table of our Lord, by their Arbitrary Inclosures to a Party; Religion is thereby debas'd to serve mean and unworthy Purposes. We humbly conceive that the Author in that Passage, makes no mention of the Legislature at all, &c. and we cannot omit on this Occasion, to regret it as the Great Unhappiness of this Kingdom, that Dissenters

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ters should now be disabl'd from concurring in the Defence of it, in any Future Exegency and Danger, and shou'd have the same Infamy put upon them with those *Irish Papists*.

We therefore Humbly hope, that your Majesty shall consider, how little real Grounds there are for those Complaints made by *their Lordships*.

What a mixture of Impudence and Prevarication is this! That One Dissenting Teacher accus'd to his Prince of having censur'd the Legislature, shou'd presume, back'd only by Five more of the same Quality, and Profession, to transcribe the Guilty Paragraph, and (to secure his meaning from all possibility of being mistaken) annex another to it; wherein he rails at that very Law for which he is so Audacious a Manner Censur'd the Queen & Parliament. and at the same time shou'd expect to be acquitted by her Majesty, because he had not mention'd the word Legislature; 'Tis true the word Legislature is not express'd in that Paragraph; but let Mr. Boyse say, what other Power but the Legislature, cou'd in this Sense turn the Holy Eucharist into an Engine to advance a State Faction, or confine Offices of Trust, or the Common Table of our Lord by their Arbitrary Inclosures to a Party. It is plain he can from his Principles intend no others, but the Legislators of the Sacramental Test; tho' at the same time I freely own, that this is a vile Description of them: For neither have they by this Law, made the Sacramental Test an Engine to advance, but rather to depress a State Faction; nor have they made any Arbitrary Inclosures, of the Common Table of our Lord, since as many as please, may receive the Sacrament with us in our Churches, and those who will not, may freely, as before, receive it in their

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their Seperate Congregations: nor have they confin'd either the Eucharist, or even Places of Trust to a Party; because the Conformists are not a Party, but the whole Constitution: whilst our Dissenters are not so properly the true and real Members of our Constitution, as the Tumours and Excrescences, which deform, and endanger it: nor in the last Place, is Religion hereby debas'd to serve mean and unworthy Purposes, nor is it any more than all Law-givers do, by enjoyning an Oath of Allegiance, and making that a Religious Test. For an Oath is an Act of Religious Worship as well as the Eucharist.

Upon the whole, is not this an Instance of Prodigious Boldness in Jo: Boyse, back'd with only Five Dissenting Teachers, thus to recriminate upon the Irish House of Lords (as they were pleas'd to call them in the Title of their Printed Address) and almost to insist with Her Majesty, upon the Repeal of a Law, which she had stamp'd with her Royal Authority but a few Years before?

The next Instance, of the Resolution of the Dissenters against this Law, is the Attempt they made during the Government of the Duke of Shrewsbury; which was carry'd on in the following Manner.

The Parliament of Ireland, upon their first meeting under his Grace; were engag'd in such warm Debates, which spread themselves through the Nation, and grew so universal, that all other Publick and even Private Considerations seem'd for a time to be quite sunk in them.

Whilst our Affairs were in this Posture: The Presbyterians, who never let slip an Opportunity, of pressing upon the Difficulties of the Publick; began with greater Resolution than ever to renew their Attack and in such a Manner, as if they imagin'd, that the Government durst not refuse their Demands.

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This attack was made by the whole compacted Body, of their Teachers, and Elders, with a Formidable Instrument, call'd a Representation of Grievances, presented to his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury. In which after they had revil'd the Test Act, with the same Odious Names, and insisted upon the same Insolent Arguments for the Repeal thereof, which they had formerly offer'd to the Queen; they express'd themselves to his Grace: in these Words.

We beg leave to say that those Persons must be inexcusable, and chargable, with all the Bad Consequences that may follow, who in such a Kingdom as this, and at such a Time as this; disable disgrace, and divide Protestants, a thing that ought not to be done at any Time, or in any Place, much less in this. &c.

Is it possible to conceive any thing more Insolent and provoking, than this humble Supplication of the Presbyterians of Ireland to the Government to repeal the Test at their Perils? it is plain this is an application with a Hat in one Hand, and a Sword in the other; and that too in the Style of the Irish King of Ulster, to the King of Connaught repeal the Test-Clause or if you don't ———

This and all former Projects against the Test, seem to have been so ill concerted, that it was as easy to discover, as to prevent them; their Arguments drawn from the Danger of Provoking their Multitudes, and of leaving the Conformists, to the Power of the Papists, if Matters came to a Crisis (as they express'd it) were equally absurd, as they were insolent; because it is manifest that such a Treacherous Neutrality, wou'd unite the Conformists as firmly among themselves, as the Dissenters are at this Day; and that whilst the former so united stood

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flood possessed of all that Civil and Military Power, which they now have by Law; they would be superior to the force of either, if not of both in confederacy. But now it seems the Dissenters think fit to alter their Measures, and taking advantage of the Difficulties of the Publick, resolv'd to break thro' the Test Act forcibly, in order to have it repeal'd Legally. which however preposterous it may seem is certainly true, for the Presbyterians of Ulster who had in so unaccountable a Manner declin'd the Service of their Queen, and Country, upon the former Array of the Militia (of which more hereafter) are now pleas'd to accept of Commissions of Array, contrary to their own Constructions of our Law.

This sudden change in their Principles, and Practice, did at first occasion great Speculations; it was conjectur'd by some, that the Array of the Militia wou'd be over within less than three Months, and that then These Commissioners might lay down without incurring the Penalty of that Act; But when it was observ'd in what Manner they proceeded in their Returns, of Officers it was plain their design was to put in, as many unqualified Dissenting Officers as was possible, that they might be indemnifi'd by their Numbers, and consequently that the Sacramental Test might be repeal'd. at once, or so main'd that it might fall gradually.

I am not Master of the whole Proceedings in the Commission of Array throughout Ulster, and therefore must confine my self to what was done in the County of Antrim, where several Gentlemen who were left out of the Commission of the peace for not qualifying themselves, acted as Commissioners of Array.

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In this County there were five Militia Regiments rais'd, in four of which, the Proportion betwixt the Dissenting, and Conforming Officers, (as return'd by their Commissioners to the Government) stood thus, according to the best Information I cou'd get, and I think I am pretty exact in this Computation.

In Colonel Upton's Regiment of Dragoons all the Field-Officers and Captains, all the Lieutenants and Cornets, but three, were Dissenters.

In Sir. Robert Adairs Regiment of foot, the Major and seven Captains, ten Lieutenants and twelve Ensigns, were Dissenters.

In Mr. John O Neil's Regiment of foot the Major, and seven Captains, nine Lieutenants and ten Ensigns were Dissenters.

In Mr. Edminstons Regiment of foot, two Feild-Officers, and Eight Captains, Eight Leutenants and ten Ensigns, were also Dissenters.

*It seems they did not succeed so well in the other counties of Ulster, but having compassed the Point so Effectually, in the county of Antrim, they set about a farther Reformation; and this in a Manner so Violent and Tumultuary, that it's plain the Dissenters, have overshot themselves, and have alienated the Affections of a great many Gentlemen, who were inclinable to mollify the Test Act, by giving them an indemnifying Clause, and to quallify them for Commissions in the Militia; they had no sooner obtain'd this majority of Officers in the County of Antrim, but it spread through the Common-People, that they ought to serve under no Officers, but those of their own Perswasion
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and how effectually this prevail'd, the Reader will see in the last Arguemnt, of the ensuing Treatise; to which he is refer'd.



T H E
C A S E
O F T H E
S A C R A M E N T A L T E S T

Stated and Argu'd ; particularly, with
Relation to the PRESBYTERIANS of
IRELAND, &c.

THE *Dissenters* of Ireland, being excluded from all Offices of *Publick Trust*, by their Refusal of the *Sacramental Test* ; it may, perhaps, be thought unseasonable to Publish a Treatise upon this Subject : And I expect to be charg'd by them with the Folly and Cowardise of *insulting* the Dead, and *trampling* on those who are down.

However I may be accused in this Manner, by such as have already rais'd the cry of *Persecution*, and presume to tax the *Legislature* with *Injustice* and *Ingratitude*, upon account of this Law, yet I hope to be acquitted by all sober and considerate Men. My Intention being to vindicate the *Wisdom* and *Justice* of our *Parliament*, and to offer some Religious and Political Arguments, to Defend that Excellent Law whenever it shall be attack'd.

This Treatise will, I hope, be thought more necessary, when we consider, how many People are prejudic'd against the *Test*, by the Odious Names wherewith it hath been blackned by the *Factors* for *Presbytery* They have call'd it a † *National Pest*, an * *Engine to advance a State Faction*, an * *Imposition*, a *Grievance*, an *Odious Mark of Infamy*, and the like.

Such open and scandalous Reflections as these, do not only abuse the whole *Legislature*, but seem calculated to enrage the *Dissenters*, and prepare them to Redress themselves whenever the Governours of the *Kirk* shall direct : And therefore one Design of this Treatise, is to allay that Spirit of Resentment, or at least to give timely Notice to the *Guardians* of our *Constitution* to beware of it.

They who consider the State of the Church of *Ireland*, must observe, that She is plac'd like an *Isthmus*, betwixt two Raging Seas, of *Popery* and *Presbytery*: That these *troubl'd Waters*, however they may seem to swell and foam at each other, do both beat with Violence against Her ; and that in their spring Tides of Popular Inundation, they have each overflow'd Her in their Turns. Wherefore, it is Incumbent upon those whose Scituation puts them in a more immediate view of the Danger of *Popery*, to make Allowances for the just Apprehensions of others ; who are equally beset with *Presbytery*, that they may join Hands in a *Common Defence* of our Church, against her Enemies on the right Hand and on the left.

It is with some Pleasure, I observe Gentlemen who differ in other Political Opinions, agree generally

† Vide *Animadversions* by Mr. *Mc. Bride*. * Vide Mr. *Boyse's* Sermon, * Vide *Several Addresses to the Queen*, by the *Dissenting Teachers of Ireland*.

rally in this, That the *Sacramental Test*, is by all Means to be preserv'd; However, We may remember in what manner, within the compass of a few Years that *Law* was attack'd, when the Project of any *Expedient* (Mention'd in the Earl of *Pembroke's* Speech) was on Foot; and after, when the Lord *Wharton* declar'd from the Throne, that the *Dissenters* of *Ireland* were not to be *molested*: I say, we may remember, how far those Expressions were constru'd, even by Members of the House of *Commons*, to point towards a *Repeal* of that *Law*.

We know that Men are variable in their Political Opinions, that some, who are neither to be Brib'd or Insulted; yet may be abus'd and impos'd upon, by the Artifice of others, who are most to be suspected, when their Professions are most specious. And we have many Instances of well designing Men, who wou'd not go directly to a point, and yet have been brought about by Concessions, which led them so far that it was past their Power to retreat.

For my part, as Matters now stand, I take a Discourse upon this Subject, to be Seasonable, and of publick Concernment; And intend to treat it, as far as I'm able, in that Grave and Serious Manner, which the Importance of the Matter requires, and to make Impressions, rather upon the Judgments than Passions of Men. I will therefore first State the Case of the *Sacramental Test*, in Order to put the following Arguments into the clearest Light I can.

The STATE of the CASE.

THe Executive Power both *Civil* and *Military*, within these *Kingdoms*, being wholly placed in the Prince, it must be allowed, that they to whom the Subordinate Execution of this Power is com-

mitted, are properly his Servants; and consequently that the Nomination of them does of right belong to him.

It is to be presum'd, that the *Supreme* Magistrate in the Choice of his Servants, wou'd endeavour to prefer those to *Offices of Trust*, who are best qualify'd to act for the General Good: but because the Faithful Discharge of such delegated Power does so nearly concern the Publick, (the Security of the whole Establishment entirely depending upon it) the Crown hath therefore Condescended to limit the Prerogative in that point, by agreeing that certain Qualifications shall be necessary in all Persons vested with this *Trust*: And that only such shall be capable thereof, as are visible Members of the Church by Law Establish'd.

In Order to this, it was necessary that there shou'd be some Rule laid down to judge who were, and who were not Members of the Church; and the Rule was.

That whereas there are several Sects of Christians in this Kingdom who differ in Principles of Religion, and Acts of Divine Worship, as well from each other as from the Church Establish'd. And, whereas there is one most solemn Act of Divine Worship, I mean the Celebration of the Lords Supper, in which all other Sects differ from the National Church. The Legislature has therefore made that distinguishing Act, the Test, to know, who are true Members of that Church, and thereby qualify'd for Places of Trust and Power And accordingly, it has been Enacted, That all Publick Officers, Civil and Military, shall receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of Ireland. Some Sects, as Independents, and Presbyterians, refusing to Receive it in the same manner; others as Socinians and Papists, either in the same

same Manner or Sense, and lastly others, as the Quakers absolutely refusing to take it at all.

This being a true State of the Case; it is evident, The *Sacramental Test*, as intended by our Laws, is nothing more than the Rule which the *Legislature* has laid down to distinguish who are sound Members of that Church which is Establish'd; and consequently, who according to the Intention of the *Legislature* are duely qualify'd for Places of Trust and Power, to support that Establishment of which the Church is a part,

Having thus far Stated the Case of the *Sacramental Test*; I am next to shew how far it may be inconsistent with the Safety of the *Constitution*, to admit *Dissenters* into Offices of Publick Trust, Civil or Military.

ARGUMENT the Ist.

THE Establish'd Church of every Nation, is suppos'd by the *Legislature* to be a sound part of the *Catholick Church*; and consequently, all Religious Sects differing from her, and denying *Communion* with her, are by the same Power implicitly presum'd Erroneous,

Upon which account, it is the Duty of the Law-makers to defend that Church by the most prudential means that they can devise; being oblig'd in Conscience to Maintain what they have Establish'd as sound and Orthodox, against what they have suppos'd Erroneous and Corrupt; but they cannot do this effectually by making Laws for its security, so long as they allow Persons a share in the Execution of those Laws who

who cannot in Conscience execute them, and all *Dissenters* being of that Number, it follows that our Law-makers are not only bound in Conscience to Defend the Church by wholesome Laws, but even in common Prudence to exclude *Dissenters* from any Power of putting those Laws in Execution, which were Devised for the Churches Defence against those very *Dissenters* themselves.

ARGUMENT the II^d.

AS the *Legislature* seems oblig'd in Conscience and Prudence to exclude *Dissenters* from the executive Power of our Laws, especially of those Laws which directly or indirectly support the Church; so are all such *Dissenters* equally bound to refuse that Executive Power; because, nothing can be conceiv'd more unreasonable and absurd, than that Magistrate should accept of Commissions to put our Penal Laws in Execution, who cannot with a safe Conscience obey those Laws themselves, which they are to see executed upon others. If Magistrates force Subjects to submit to Laws, which they themselves refuse to obey, it is plain they are unjust and partial in their Administration: And this will appear more evident from the Recital of some Clauses in our Penal Laws.

There are several Statutes now in force in this Kingdom, for the Security of the Church; of which I will mention Two: The first made the 2^d of *Elizabeth*, in which we have this Clause,

And it is ordered and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all and every Justice of Oyer and Determiner, or Justice of Assize, shall have full Power and Authority in every of their open and general Sessions

sions, to Enquire, Hear and Determine all and all Manner of Offences that shall be committed or done contrary to any Article contain'd in the present Act, &c. to make process for the Execution of the same, as they may do against any Person being Indicted before them of Trespas, or lawfully Convicted thereof.

Now it is to be observ'd, That amongst those Offences, not only absenting from the Church on Sundays, or Holydays, but the speaking in Derogation of, depraving or despising our Book of Common Prayer, is mention'd as punishable by the Magistrates and Justices of the Peace, by Vertue of this Act.

The Second Act, is that of the 17th and 18th Car. II. wherein it is enacted, *That if any Person, who is by this Act disabled to preach any Lecture or Sermon, shall during the Time that he shall continue, or remain so disabled, preach any Sermon or Lecture; that then for every such Offence, the Person or Persons so offending, shall suffer three Months imprisonment in the County Goal, without Bail or Mainprize; and that any two Justices of the Peace, of any County in this Kingdom, and the Mayor or other chief Magistrate of any City and Town Corporate, within the same, upon Certificate from the ordinary of the Place, made to him or them, of the Offence committed, shall, and are hereby Required to commit the Person or Persons so offending to the Goal of the County, City or Town Corporate accordingly, &c.*

Premising these Laws to be in force, I desire to know, Whether there can be conceiv'd a greater *Solecism* and Absurdity in Government, than to make *Dissenters* from our Church, Justices of the Peace or Magistrates of Towns; who by their Commissions accept of a Power, to punish Subjects for the Violation of our Penal Laws? which Laws, such Magistrates cannot in Conscience obey themselves. As

long therefore, as those Laws are in force, it is manifest the *Dissenters* are oblig'd in Conscience to refuse the Executive Power of them; and consequently, to give them such Power, seems to lead them into the open Violation of the Law both of God and Man: Wherefore, if these great Contenders, for Civil Power, went fairly to work, they wou'd first procure a Repeal of our Penal Laws, before they presume to put in for a share of the Executive Power: There can be no doubt, but that is what they principally intend, and wou'd gladly Effect, either directly or indirectly; but the Truth is, they do not at present suppose themselves able to compass it, until they have arriv'd to a Power of Acting up to their Religious and Political Principles; and then they must pronounce all such Penal Statutes null and void, and whatever other Laws they shall declare relative to Religion; And this they may, *in Ordine ad spiritualia*, without consent of the *Legislature*, when such Laws shall be judged by them, contrary to the Church's Edification, or (in the Phrase of the *Kirk*) *Noisom, Unprofitable, not agreeing with the Times, or abus'd by the People*, which was the Case in Point, in several Assemblies in *Scotland*. In That at *Glasgow*, Anno 1638, they abolish'd *Episcopacy*, altho' it stood then confirm'd by many Acts of Parliament; particularly, by a Statute enacted, Anno 1584. *Declaring it High Treason to call in question the Power and Authority of any of the Three Estates, That is, Bishops, Lords, and Commons*. Notwithstanding all which Laws, the *Kirk*, in the Twelfth Session of that Assembly, did condemn by their sole Authority, what they call'd *The Six preceding GENERAL ASSEMBLIES*, which had been legally call'd by the King's Authority: And Session 14th, they condemn'd the *Service Book*,
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the *Book of Canons* and *High Commission*, and in the 16th Session enacted by their sole Authority, *Episcopacy to be rooted out of that Kirk*; tho' it stood then Establish'd by many Acts of Parliament. Frequent Instances of this Nature, can be given in the several *General Assemblies* held in the Interval, betwixt 38 and 1649. all Recorded in the Acts of the *General Assemblies* of Scotland.

ARGUMENT the IIIId.

WHEN a *National Church* is so unhappy as to be surrounded by several Religious Sects, all bound by Principles of Religion as well as Policy, to Establish their own worship, as more *Pure* and *Orthodox*; it is plain That Church is to be equally secur'd from them all; because, however, one Sect may be less corrupt in *Doctrine*, and more tolerable in a *State* than another; yet it is certain, they are all oblig'd to attempt the subversion of the Religion Establish'd; each Sect judging it to be unsound and corrupt: And in that respect, they are all to be reputed Enemies, and to be provided against.

The *Legislature* was fully appriz'd, that both *Papists* and *Presbyterians* were agreed in an utter Aversion to our Church, The one esteeming her an *Heresy*, the other an *Iniquity* establish'd by Law; that altho' perhaps either of these Sects wou'd chose to Conform, rather to the Church Establish'd, than to each other; yet that both were prepar'd to subvert her, provided they cou'd Introduce their own way of Worship; And that then by their avow'd Principles and Practices they wou'd Tolerate no other Religion in the Nation, but persecute all as *Hereticks*, or *Schismaticks*.

Now, this being an undeniable Truth, and indeed the Foundation of all our Penal Laws, respecting Religion, and it being likewise certain, that the Ecclesiastical and the Civil parts of our Constitution are so interwoven with each other, that the one cannot fall, without the utmost hazard at least, if not Destruction of the other ; it follows, that our Law-makers are bound by the first Principle of Civil Policy (self preservation) to exclude *Dissenters* from any share in the Civil Part, since they are profess'd Enemies to the *Ecclesiastical*.

ARGUMENT the IVth.

IT is to be consider'd that *Dissenters* are but (what we may call) partial or half Subjects, in as much as they refuse Obedience to several Laws, which are Fundamental to the whole Constitution, and plead Conscience for such Exemption ; and therefore, it is absurd and unreasonable that they shou'd expect equal Advantages from the *Crown* or *Legislature*, with the Conformists, who are universal Subjects, and obedient to the whole Law.

This was the Opinion of King *James the First*, as appears by his Speech to those *Irish Lords* and *Commons*, who Petition'd his Majesty against the Lord *Chichester*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, for Erecting new Corporations in that Kingdom, to ballance the *Papish* Voices in *Parliament*,

YOU, says the King, *who are of a contrary Religion, and are but half Subjects, shou'd have but half Privileges, you have one Eye to me, one way, and another to the Pope another way ; and so, you have your Bodies turned one way, and your Souls drawn another way, &c.*

The learned Doctor *Barlow* was of the same Opinion in his Case of *† Toleration* in Matters of Religion, where he says, *As those to whom a Connivance is granted, i. e. The Dissenters, have, and may justly expect Impunity and Exemption from all Penal Sufferings, tho' they Conform not to the Way of Worship publicly Establish'd; so, on the other side, they cannot reasonably expect the Rewards and Encouragements which a Prince distributes to those who chearfully Obey, and give Conformity to the Religion Establish'd: For, as Rewards and Punishments are the Sepimenta Legis, the great Bounds and Hedges to keep Men to their Duty and Obedience, to any Law of God or Man; so they go together, and are inseparable, and belong only to those who are under Obligations to such Laws. Agreeable to this, was that Political AXIOM of Constantine the Great.*

* *Privilegia quæ Contemplatione Religionis indulta sunt, Catholicæ tantum Legis Observatoribus prodesse oportet, Hereticos autem & Schismaticos ab iis Privilegiis Alienos esse Volumus. The Advantages which are given upon Account of the true Religion, ought only to be for the Benefit of such who are Obedient to the Catholick Law; but we exclude Hereticks and Schismaticks from such Privileges.*

I dare venture to affirm, That there can be no Instance given in any Christian Kingdom or Republick, or indeed in any Civiliz'd Heathen Nation, where a Sett of Men, who are but Partial Subjects, and plead Exemption from several Laws, Fundamental to the Establishment of the whole Constitution, were ever made the Executors of *Publick Trust* in such a State;

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† P. 10. * *Imperat. Constant. ad Dracil. Lib. de Heret. in Cod. Theod. p. 493.*

All Offices, and the Emoluments annex'd to them, being reserv'd for those on whom the Government might depend for their universal Obedience to the whole *Constitution*.

Schism in the Church, answers *Rebellion* in the State; and wherever the Revolt from either the Civil or Ecclesiastical Governours first begins, it generally is convey'd from the one to the other, if not prevented by the Abilities of those who are in Places of *Publick Trust*.

Men wou'd therefore do well to consider, whence it is that they are inclin'd to be so careful and zealous in Affairs purely Civil, and at the same Time, so careless and supine in those of Religion; How strange and unaccountable wou'd it appear, if under the same Christian Establishment *Rebellion* against the State, shou'd be made Capital, (as it is;) and that *Rebellion* against the Church, shou'd be made capable of the Rewards due to universal Obedience.

It is most certain Men may be mistaken in their Opinions in one Case, as well as in the other; And must Mistakes in one kind be punish'd by Death, and Mistakes in the other, not only forgiven, but indulg'd with Rewards due to Obedience?

Far be it from me to draw the Parallel so near and exact, as to enforce the same Proceedings in both Cases: I think, a Suspension of *Legal Penalties* for a *Schism*, may be consistent with the Laws of God, and Rules of Humane Policy; and that all violent Persecutions, such as both *Papists* and *Dissenters* have rais'd for their Religion, are both Uncharitable and Unchristian.

But altho' I'm not for pursuing Men with Fire and
Sword

Sword for Opinions in Religion ; yet I can never reach the *Moderation* of those who are for encouraging *Dissenters*, not only with Impunity, but with Capacity of Rewards, with *Power* and *Trust* in that Establishment which they Contemn, Despise, and will not submit to ; And which, we are sure they are dispos'd to undermine and destroy.

It is further to be consider'd, That *Schism* is not only apt to produce *Rebellion* against the State, but is fix'd and lasting, whilst *Civil Rebellion* is transient, and soon passes away.

We have frequent Instances in our Histories, where *Rebellions* have been suppress'd, upon their first breaking out, by the Wisdom and Conduct of the *Prince* and his *Ministers* : And it is a known Observation even in prosperous *Rebellion*, when the Nation has been blown up to a universal Flame, that Such violent Tempests fall by degrees into a Calm, and acute Feavers in the Body Politick, have an innate Tendency towards their own Cure and Redress. Now, however this may hold generally True in *Rebellion* against the State, we find by long Experience, it is not so in *Schism* or *Religious Rebellion* : The Root of the former is, as it were, on the Surface of the Earth, quickly pull'd up ; but the latter lies deep, and is past the reach of the *Civil Magistrate* to Extirpate ; when those *Civil Rebellions*, which have sprung from it have been quite suppress'd.

But there still remains a farther Evil than all this : for *Schism* or *Religious Rebellion* is not only more fix'd and lasting, but it hath (as it were) *Banners* display'd, to which all Parties of State-Rebells have fled for Refuge when they were to work their Ends by inflaming

flaming the Nation. Look into the Histories of these Kingdoms, and you will find, that ever since the *Reformation*, *Schism* has been the Sanctuary of *Rebellion*; and that *Religious* and *Civil Rebellion* have always shaken Hands upon the least Assurance given by the latter, or Hopes conceiv'd by the former, of subverting the Church. How many black Records are Extant, shewing in what Manner the Traytors in the former *Rebellion* fled to the *Presbyterians*, and were embrac'd by them the Moment they promis'd to Engage in the Cause of the *Kirk*?

We find in that *Fatal Rebellion* in 1641, the Storm was too Violent to be suppress'd by the Prince or Laws, and rag'd in the Nation, till it naturally tended to its own Redress, and had spent and wasted it self into *Peace*: But when that *Rebellion* dy'd, we still found the *Grand Parent* (or rather Nurse of it) *Presbytery*, surviv'd, kept its Post, display'd its bloody Flag, and was still prepar'd to encourage any second Revolt against the State, provided the *Rebels* wou'd take the Umbrage of Religion, and list themselves to fight the Lord's Battle (as they Phras'd it) against *Antichristian Prelacy*.

This Disposition, we have reason to fear is still in the *Kirk*; however it may now lye cover'd till a proper Occasion calls it forth; And we cannot but remember, that it has brought forth its proper Fruit in several Seasons, since the Restoration of the Royal Family, both in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. From all these Premises, I think I may fairly infer not only that it is unreasonable to put partial Subjects upon a level with universal Subjects, but likewise, That it is highly dangerous to Trust Power, in the Hands of those who are in *Rebellion*

lion against the Church, since *Civil Rebellion* does so naturally spring from the *Religious*; and since the latter is not only more lasting, but is the Sanctuary to which the former flies for Refuge upon all Occasions.

ARGUMENT the Vth.

WHAT the *Dissenters* must hope for, by the Repeal of the Test and their Admittance into Offices of Trust, is, That they may approach nearer to a Parity of Power with the Establish'd Church: And this I take to be a most dangerous Experiment to both; because it is plain, such a Ballance of Power must reduce them to a State of War, and a perpetual struggle for Superiority; And this will appear to be unavoidable, when we consider the Points in which these contending Parties differ.

First, They differ not only in Circumstances and Things indifferent (as the *Dissenters* unfairly and occasionally pretend) but in Principles no less Fundamental than those of *Ordination* and *Church Government*; the *Presbyterians* founding them both in Parity; the Establish'd Church in Imparity; and both pretending to support their Doctrines upon the Basis of Divine Institution; so that upon each of their Schemes, all Comprehension must be utterly Impracticable.

Again, it is reasonable to believe, That this Scheme of Parity in Church-Government has given the *Dissenters* in general, such an unhappy Turn against *Monarchy*, that they have ever been strongly dispos'd to reduce our *Civil Constitution* to their Ecclesiastical Plan of Parity: The Transition being so Natural and Easy from

from the one to the other; add to these Essential Differences in Religion and Policy, the strong Prejudices the *Dissenters* have generally receiv'd against the *Conformists*, by the unfair Practices of their Teachers, who hold their People by the base Tenure of making the Church appear odious and frightful in the Disguise they put upon her: And then can any Man say, That a *Ballance of Power*, betwixt contending Parties, of such different Principles, Complexions and Tempers, is not a sure Method to distress both, by keeping them in a perpetual State of War?

It plainly appears to me, That each Party would be reduc'd to greater Distress during such a state of Tryal, than either of them could possibly be in, under a state of Subjection, provided Persecution, by Fire and Sword, were not rais'd by the prevailing Party.

For these Reasons, I can never agree to some Mens Expedients of Comprehension, or to their Treaties of Partition of *Civil Power* betwixt *Dissenters* and *Conformists*. Concluding as before, That a state of Tryal, betwixt these contending Parties, when they approach towards a Parity of Power, is worse than even a state of Subjection wou'd be to either, provided the prevailing Party wou'd Treat the reduc'd with that *Clemency* and *Moderation* which the *Dissenters* of *Ireland* have ever receiv'd from the Establish'd Church, in Power.

But farther, it appears evident to a Demonstration, That were the *Church* and *Kirk* brought to that *Ballance of Power*, for which the *Factors* for *Presbytery* do so earnestly contend, the Weight must quickly fall into the *Scale* of the *Kirk*.

For first, it is to be consider'd, That the Power of the *Kirk* lies in a mixture of *Spiritual* and *Lay Officers*; that Her *Ruling Elders* have equal Authority with

with Her Teachers, and are as firmly bound to Promote the Government of what they call *Christ's Kingdom of Presbytery*.

It is farther to be consider'd, That the *Kirk* claims an *Inherent Power*, which she now Exercises in this Kingdom, (however contrary to Law) to call together those mixt Assemblies at such Times, and Places, and in such Numbers as she shall appoint. Whereas the Establish'd Church acts by Officers purely Spiritual, is limited and circumscrib'd by our Laws, is impower'd to meet Synodically only with the Parliament, and is dissolv'd with them, without presuming to act in such Intervals.

Such being the different Conditions of the *Church* and *Kirk*, with respect to their *Synodical Bodies*, it is easy to see what prodigious Advantage the latter must have over the former, supposing them in a Ballance of equal Power : when those *Synods*, meeting upon all Emergencies, must be able to break thro' the dissolv'd and dispers'd Body of the Establish'd Clergy.

They who consider the great Influence of the *Elder-ship*, and their Manner of working upon the Infirmities and Passions of the People, may easily see to what a miserable Condition, the weaker and poorer sort of *Conformists* must be reduc'd in those parts, where these Officers are appointed, had the *Kirk* once arriv'd to a Parity of Power, and were in a Condition to screen and protect these Ecclesiastical *Engineers*, who are the *Sappers* and *Miners* of the very Foundations of our Church.

The Danger will be still more apparent, when we consider farther, that these *Ruling Elders*; Are an embody'd Force, vested with a very ample Commission to act in all the different Districts which are assign'd them in each Parish;

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They are to enquire into the state of all Families, to make Returns of the behaviour of the People to their *Presbyteries*; And according to their Representations, the People must stand the *Fury* of those *Ecclesiastical Assemblies*; insomuch, that it is plain, these Officers have not only the Reputations of Men in their Power, but even the very *Trade* and *Business* of all those whom they shall please to call Offenders: And it frequently happens, that the Fingers of those petty *Tyrants* are more heavy than the Loyns of the Civil Government.

Now upon the Supposition that the *Kirk* stood upon the same Foot with the *Church*, with respect to Civil and Military Power; Can it be imagin'd but these Ruling Elders made Magistrates of Towns, Justice's of the Peace, and Officers in the Army and Militia, would countenance all the usurp'd Power of the *Eldership*, in their *Illegal Discipline* and *Jurisdiction*.

God knows, it is no easy matter for the inferior Rank of the *Conformists*, to bear up against the Power and Artifice of these Adventurers, even now, when they stand excluded from all Offices of *Publick Trust*: But should we live to see the Time when Persons, zealously affected to the Church, shall be turn'd out of Commission, and depriv'd of Civil and Military Power, and Factors for the *Kirk* substituted in their Places: should we in Consequence of this, see *Dissenters* over-run our Corporations, with the same *Quickness* and *Dexterity* as they did when the Oath of *Supremacy* was Repeal'd; to what a miserable Condition would the Church Interest of *Ireland* be reduc'd, in a few Years?

How short was the time betwixt the Repeal of the Oath of *Supremacy*, and the passing the *Test Act*? and yet what prodigious Advances did these Men make, during that short Interval in which they were qualify'd for Offices of *Trust*? The

The Executive Power of the Laws, is the chief support that the *Conforming* Clergy and Laity have in many Parts of *Ulster*, against the number and confederacy of *Seſtaries*; and ſhould the *Diſſenters* come into that Power, or but a ſhare of it, it is too Evident what kind of treatment *Church-Men* muſt expect from them, ſince even at this time they are ſo daring as to inſult, not only the Eſtabliſh'd Clergy; but likewise ſome of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Nobility and Gentry in that Part of the Kingdom, of which I ſhall have Occaſion to take farther notice hereafter; what has been already ſaid upon this Head, is I hope ſufficient to Convince all well-meaning Men of the Danger of admitting *Diſſenters* into any ſhare of Power, and conſequently of the neceſſity of preſerving the *Sacramental Teſt*.

ARGUMENT the VIth.

Nothing discovers the true Spirit of the *Presbyterians*, more than to compare them with themſelves, in their different States of Exaltation and Depression; as no Men are more daring than they in Power, ſo none are more humble in Subjection, and this Diſpoſition appears throughout the whole Courſe of their Affairs, ever ſince the *Reformation*.

To riſe no higher than after the Reſtauration of the Royal Family, when the Laws of the Kingdoms, and the Prerogatives of the Crown began to prevail againſt the Power of the *Kirk*: The *Presbyterians* became ſo very modeſt, that a conſiderable *Advocate* of theirs, Pleads their Cauſe in this manner.

It is true indeed (ſays he) we cannot come up in all things to their Judgment, who are over us, as we know they could not come up to ours, when we were Advanced over them, and as we could not allow them

any Publick Employment or Encouragement, when they wou'd not comply with us & our Laws & Constitutions, so we cannot expect any Publick Employment or Encouragement from them, who cannot close with their Laws and Constitutions. Vid. *Mysteries of Godliness*. p. 2d.

One would be apt to think by this Plea, that the *Presbyterians* were the most reasonable People in the World, their Clamours for the Inherent right of *Kirk* Disciplin and Government, were now sunk into a modest request for *Liberty, to tender Consciences, & for leave to serve God in their own way*; But we are to remember, that the Cup of Violence which they had made the Malignants Drink; was at this time bitter in their Mouths, that as Justice was all they then fear'd, Impunity was all they could hope, and if we trace them a little further, when the Storm of Justice was blown over, we shall find that upon the least hopes or Imaginary Power, these Reptiles from crawling upon their Bellies, quickly began to get wings, and assuming the natural Form of their Transmutation, became those very Wasps Hornets, which buzz'd and stung the People into the Rebellions of *Pentland-Hills* and *Bothwell-Bridge*, which if not seasonably prevented would have involv'd the whole Nation into a Second Civil War.

If we descend lower in point of time, and reflect upon the temper of the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland* before the Revolution, when they were Excluded from Publick trust by the Oath of *Supremacy*, and consider them at this time, with that Vigour and Strength which they gather'd betwixt the repeal of that Oath, and passing the *Test Act*; we should not take them to be the same, either in Complexion or Stature, and in Order to shew this, I will only consider them in one point, which is the mean scope of this Argument, and that is in the advances they have made in their Ecclesiastical

staistical Jurisdiction, and from this we shall judge how far it may be safe to trust them with Military and Civil Power ; who have assum'd so much of the Ecclesiastical, and that too in Opposition to the Laws of the Nation.

I cannot find, that in the interval betwixt the Restauration and Revolution, the *Kirk of Ireland* presum'd to Exercise her Jurisdiction openly and avowedly : She then proceeded in so secret a manner, that her *Synods* were thought of no more consequence than her common Meetings for Religious Worship, but in a few Years after the late Revolution, she began to embody her self in greater numbers.

The first Provincial Synod which was remarkable, was (as I remember) held in *Antrim*, Anno 1698. upon the opening of which, Mr. *Mc. Bride* their Moderator Preach'd a Sermon (afterwards Printed at *Belfast*) asserting the inherent right of the *Kirk*, to Embody herself, and act without the consent of the Civil Magistrate ; complaint was made of this, by the then Bishop of *Down*, and Mr. *Mc. Bride* was sent for to *Dublin*, and Reprimanded by the Government. What effect this had upon *Mc. Bride* and his Brethren, we may judge from the account which the Reverend Arch-Deacon *Hamilton* gave to the Convocation of the Synodical proceedings of the *Kirk* in 1706. And the Reader is referr'd to the Conduct of the *Dissenters*, pag. 85. for the particulars of this Information, where he will find in what manner they went thro' all the Forms of a Regular Jurisdiction, in summoning even Members of Establish'd Church, and making Witnesses Swear according to the Form of *Scotland*, with Hands lift up to God, &c.

I had formerly in a Paper call'd *True-Blew Presbyterian Loyalty*, mention'd the Behaviour of the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland* in the Reign of K. *James* the 6th.
and

and Quoted a Sermon Preach'd before the Parliament of *England* in 1588. by Doctor *Bancroft*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in which discourse he affirm'd : *That in King James the 1st's Minority, certain Numbers of Ministers, gathering to themselves certain Gentlemen, and divers others; did Erect by their own Authority Ecclesiastical Senates, who did alter the Laws at pleasure, without the Approbation of King or State.* To which very Paragraph, Mr. *Mc Bride** answers in this manner.

' Our first REFORMERS from *Popery*, (Ministers, &c.) did indeed assemble, not only to worship God according to his Revealed Will, but to consult the best ways and means to Deliver themselves and the deluded Nation from *Antichristian* Ignorance, Idolatry and Tyranny, &c. And this they did according to the Examples of the Apostles and Primitive Christians, who for 300 Years assembl'd, without the consent of the Pagan Magistrates, as ours did not wait the Approbation of Popish Powers, all being profess'd Enemies to the *Reformation*. I need not, as I conceive, explain what he intends by Popish Powers in this Reign, opposing their *Presbyterian* Government, when he so plainly insinuates in what manner the *Presbyterians* are oblig'd to erect their Government and Discipline, in opposition to all who shall obstruct them, whether *Pagans, Papists* or *Prelatists*.

These, and the like extravagant claims of the *Kirk*, with respect to her Synodical Jurisdiction, were what fill'd the Mouths of a great many considerate Churchmen of this Kingdom, who plainly fore-saw where these Proceedings must end; their complaints at length reach'd the House of Lords of *Ireland*, and was what principally occasion'd a Representation to the Queen, in which their Lordships make these Synodical

* Vid. *Jet Black Prelatick Calumny*. p. 62.

nodical Proceedings the mean Article against the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*: The Facts wherewith they were charg'd in this Representation, were so incontestable and of so high a nature, that one might expect the *Kirk* would have thrown herself at the Queen's mercy, and implor'd their Accusers to be their Intercessors, but instead of a just and modest Application of this kind; They Address her Majesty with (what may be call'd) a Remonstrance against the Lords, wherein they avow their illegal Jurisdiction, and with all their weight of Guilt, apply for the Repeal of several Laws in the words following, *We must acknowledge to your Majesty, that the Sacramental Test, is such a Grievance, as doth in the most sensible manner touch us, and all others of our Persuasion, the Clause imposing it, hath laid an Odious mark of Infamy upon at least one half of the Protestants of this Kingdom, &c.*

' We would have heartily wish'd, that greater Lenity had been shown in preventing many Prosecutions for meer Non-conformity even in our settled Congregations, several of our Ministers and People have been Prosecuted in the Ecclesiastical Courts for this Cause (*id est*) Marrying contrary to Law, and many have been treated in like manner for not taking the Oath impos'd upon *Church-Wardens*, contrary to their Consciences, &c.

' We begg leave on this Occasion, to lay before your Majesty as a great Grievance to us, that the Education of our Youths is extreamly discourag'd, by our being depriv'd in many Places of the liberty of Entertaining School-Masters of our own Profession, not to mention *Seminaries*, the want whereof, obliges us to send our Youth abroad, and even those who teach to Read and Write in Country Parishes, are Prohibited and Prosecuted to the great prejudice of Children, and discouragment of Parents, who are
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‘ Conscientiously concern’d for their Education, &c.

‘ We hope their Lordships zeal will exert it self in
 ‘ proper measures for the Publick safety. which we
 ‘ begg leave to say, is not in the least endanger’d by
 ‘ *Presbytery*, &c.

Good God, what Monstrous Demands are here, by
 Criminals, not only Accus’d, but even self Con-
 demn’d.

First a Repeal of the *Test*, by the modest Applica-
 tion of a grievance, and a mark of Infamy, &c.

Secondly, that the Establish’d Church may be de-
 priv’d of her Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, because some
Presbyterians cannot with a safe Conscience (as they
 pretend) Marry according to Law.

Thirdly, that the Law concerning the Qualifica-
 tion of School-Masters may be Repeal’d, because they
 are Conscientiously concern’d least their Children
 should be taught to Read and Write by Confor-
 mists.

Fourthly, that her Majesty may grant them a Roy-
 al Patent or Charter, for a *Seminary* or *University*
 of *Presbyterians*.

After they had Address’d the Queen in this manner,
 it could not be expected but they would persist in
 their Synodical Proceedings, as they afterwards did,
 more resolutely and avowedly than ever; The Publick
 was Appriz’d of this, by several Printed Papers, shewing
 the dangerous consequence of their Illegal Jurisdiction,
 in answer to all which and to whatever might be
 offer’d upon that Subject, the *Dissenters* Publish a
 Book Intittled an *Historical Essay, upon the Loyalty*
of the Presbyterians, &c. in which Voluminous
 Composition, most of the considerable *Dissenters* of
Ireland were concern’d, by their Letters, Certifi-
 cates, &c. what is there offer’d in answer to this
 charge, we find, pag. 492. I must Confess

Confess says the *Compiler*, ' I can see no reason why the
 ' same forbearance ought not to be shown them (the
 ' *Presbyterians*) in matter of their Discipline, as in
 ' their Worship; for in both, the Plea is the same, the
 ' *Presbyterians* think that their Worship is the purest
 ' and most Scriptural, and they have the same senti-
 ' ment of their Discipline, they think the Word of
 ' God, obliges their Pastors to meet in Colligate and
 ' Associate Bodies, for their joynt acting in matters
 ' meerly *Ecclesiastical*, that they offend God the su-
 ' pream *Legislator*, if they neglect this Duty, and
 ' whilst they, and their People retain this Principle,
 ' they must act in pursuance of it.

Here we have this Important Point resolv'd, and the
 Jurisdiction of the *Kirk* asserted in the strongest Terms,
 however, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom,
 and to the Representation of the Lords ; They tell
 us plainly they must exert their Inherent Right of
 Assembling, and acting judicially in Opposition to
 all Laws, which are or can be made to Obstruct their
 Discipline.

Is not our Church in a hopeful way, when the
 Leaders of the *Kirk* dare openly, and avowedly declare
 in this manner, that they will Exercise their Disci-
 pline? If *Dissenters* are permitted to Transgress the
 Laws, because their Conscience tells them they ought,
 what Defence can possibly be devis'd against *Hereticks*
 or *Schismatics*.

Has not our *Legislature* a Conscience to
 direct them, as well as those *Kirk* Elders? Is it rea-
 sonable for them to Argue, that because the Go-
 verment has indulg'd them in the Exercise of their
 Worship, they will have the Exercise of their
 Discipline? May they not as well proceed to demand
 an Establishment of their *Jus divinum* of *Presbytery*,
 in Opposition to *Prelacy*, and insist upon a Main-

tainance for (what they call) a *Scriptural Ministry*, instead of *Anti Scriptural Episcopacy*.

It is to be hop'd, that Gentlemen of the Church, will lay this matter a little to heart, & Consider where such Advances will end. † *Mr. Boyse* has call'd our Bishops *Anti-Scripturals* and * *Mc. Bride* has wish'd the *Legislature overturn'd, for turning out Presbytery, to turn in* (as he Phrases it) *another Church Government of their own* : Now supposing these Leaders should begin to think themselves able to Exert their Inherent Right, and to act according to their avow'd Principles, may they not, nay must they not, with equal Reason and Modesty, insist upon the Extirpation of *Episcopacy, Root and Branch, as a Plant which God hath not Planted*, as they formerly did.

I could Proceed to show what Advances the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland* have made since the Revolution, in several other Instances, besides that of their *Synodical Jurisdiction*, such as the encrease of their new erections, by the incursions they have made into our *Conforming Congregations*, the steps they have taken towards *Publishing the Solemn League and Covenant*, in the same Volume with their *Catechism*, and their hardiness in maintaining the Doctrine therein contain'd, as the Author before mention'd, has done in several parts of his Voluminous Book, but the proceedings in their *Synods* being the principal cause of all these *Incroachments* upon us, I will urge those Points no farther.

In all my reasonings upon the Conduct of the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, I have endeavour'd to govern my self by one Rule; *To watch the general tendencies of things, and however slow their Advances are made, still to observe where, if that motion continu'd,*
it

† Vid. *Sermon, the Scriptural Bishop.* * Vid. *Animadversions.*

it must necessarily end. And when I consider all these Advances which have been made by the Embodied Forces of the *Kirk*, I cannot but conclude, that they will end as formerly in the Ruin of our *Church*, if not interrupted in this Progressive Motion.

It is evident, that all the Springs and Wheels in their Ecclesiastical Machines are at Work, towards erecting the Discipline of the *Kirk*, upon the Ruins of the *Church*, and that nothing has retarded that Motion, but the *Sacramental Test*, and in truth it is much to be doubted whether that will stop them, considering the bold Advances they have hitherto made; And therefore we may Argue a *Fortiori*, if the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland* have been so active, and made such large Strides, when clogg'd with a dead weight of this Law, which excludes them from *Civil & Military Power*, with what vigour will they Spring upon the *Church* were that Law Repeal'd; and were these Invaders Arm'd with the two eddg'd Sword of *Civil* and *Military Power*. I will close this Argument with one observation. which I believe will be found to hold generally true.

Pliny observes, that the *Lyon* however Wild by Nature, may be made so Tame and Familiar, that he will Lick a Mans Hand, but if his rough Tongue chance to draw Blood, he is so ravish'd with the Taste, that he grows Outragious and Ungovernable, and is apt to seise his Keepers; In like manner, the *Presbyterians* however Sullen and Perverse by Nature or Education, may by Proper Means be made so Tractable and Submissive, that they will Lick and Fawn upon their Master, but if they insinuate so far as to Taste of the sweet Power, they will not only turn upon their Masters, but if they find themselves Superior in Power, will admit of no Restraint.

ARGUMENT the VIIIth.

WHEN I consider the inconsistent Behaviour of the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, within the compass of a few Years, and that too, in matters of the last Consequence ; I must conclude (however zealous they may appear at this time in the Service of the Publick) that the Government cannot depend upon them. To prove this, I will shew their behaviour towards the *Pretender* upon his 1st. and 2d. Invasion, and from this Comparison we shall be able to Judge how uncertain and Occasional their Loyalty has been, and consequently how Dangerous it may be to trust them with *Civil* and *Military Power*.

As to their Behaviour with regard to the Queen, and the *Pretender* upon his 1st. Invasion ; I might refer the Reader to what I have said in the *Conduct of the Dissenters* : But being willing to recall some Passages there mention'd into his Mind, and having something new to offer upon that Head, I will Contract the whole into a narrow Compass, and put it in a different View, in Order to which, I desire the Factors for *Presbytery*, to answer the following *Queries*, all founded upon undeniable Facts, which I am perswaded they have not the hardiness to contradict.

First, How came it to pass, that the *Dissenters* of *Ulster* about the time of the first Invasion of the *Pretender* ; Address'd the late *Queen* from a *Provincial Synod*, in 1708. and told Her Majesty, that both the *Gentlemen and People* of their Persuasion, were depriv'd of serving Her Majesty and their Country, when it was manifest that the *Test* to which they refer'd, did neither Deprive their common People from

from serving as Private Men, nor their Gentlemen as Volunteers.

Secondly, To what end were their common People influenc'd, to refuse Arms to Oppose him, and consequently had his Attempt succeeded then, as was expected, were resolv'd to leave the *Conformists* to try their Power with the *Papists*, whom they had Declar'd in their Address to the *Queen* to be so much Superior in Number to the *Conformists*.

Thirdly, With what View did the *Presbyterians* about the same time Publish thro' the Nation that Execrable Paper call'd the *Parallel*, the main Design of which, was to persuade the *Dissenters*, not to join with the *Conformists* against the *Papists* if matters came to a *Crisis*, because as they said, *The Papists and they had been made Parallels, and were join'd in the same Class of Persecution*, to Explain which notable Advice, Mr. Mc. Bride, the *Non-Juring Teacher of Belfast* in his Paper call'd *Jet-Black Prelatick Calumny*, Publish'd in 1713. tells the *Conformists*, p. 148. *That seeing they had Enhansed all Trust, Profit and Honour, they might do their best to Maintain and Defend it without the Dissenters of Ireland, who if they be Wise will not be Gibeonites, only Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water to the Priests.* And again, p. 151. *That seeing the greatest Part of the Protestants of Ireland were Dissenters from the Establish'd Church, it might easily fall a Prey to the Papists.*

Agreeable to all this, it is very observable, that in their Adress to the *Queen*, in answer to the *Representation of the House of Lords of Ireland*, they tell Her Majesty that the *Papists of Ireland* bear the Proportion of Sixteen to One to the *Conformists*, the direct and necessary consequence of which absurd
compu-

Computation, is this, that if the Sum Total of the Souls of *Ireland* be 1200000. which is more by 100000 than was computed by *Sr. William Petty* in the Year 1676. Then by the known Rules of Political Arithmetick, they tell the *Papists*, (after assuring them of their Neutrality) that they can raise a Body of 230000 Fighting Men betwixt 16 and 60, whereas the *Conformists* can raise but a handful of 14000 to Oppose them.

Such previous Dispositions as these, being concerted by *Presbyterian Teachers* and *Elders*, let us see what Influence they had upon the People, and here, I think it can be no secret to this Generation to say, that they were spread thro' the whole Body, in direct Opposition to all their Clamours and Fears of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, for the Proof of which, take what *Mr Waring* of *Waringstown* says in his Letter to a Friend, formerly Publish'd by his own Permission.

SIR,

That I may fulfil your Desire, by giving you An Account, how the Dissenters in my Neighbourhood behaved themselves, when we were threatn'd with an Invasion of the Pretender. Be pleas'd to know, that upon an Alarm given of his being Landed near Derry, none were more Zealous and Ready in setting Watch and keeping Guard, than they, to Prevent such Disorders as might happen at that time, by Ill Designing Persons, passing through and Disturbing the Peace of the Country.

But when the Government thought fit to have the Kingdom Array'd, and sent Commissioners into these Parts, sometime after it appear'd, that the Dissen-

ters

ters had by that time been otherwise instructed, for several who were so forward before, behaved themselves after a very different manner, some refusing, and others with Reluctancy appearing upon the Array to be Inlisted and serve in the Militia.

This Behaviour surpriz'd me so much, that I took Occasion to Discourse several of them, over whom I thought I had as much Influence as any other Person, and found them upon the common Argument of having their Handsty'd up by a late Act of Parliament, &c. Whereupon I took some pains to shew the Act to them, and wherein they were mistaken. I further prest their concurrence with us, in procuring the common Peace and Security of our Country, And tho' they seem'd Convinc'd by what I said, yet I was given to understand their Behaviour was according to the Sentiments of some Persons, whom they thought themselves oblig'd to observe, or be directed by. &c.

Thus far in general touching the Behaviour of the Dissenters upon this Occasion, give me leave to descend to one particular Fact, respecting a Person, whom I may venture to say, takes himself to be and actually is the *Great-Director* of the *Presbyterians* of *Ulster*; I mean Mr. Clotworthy Upton.

When the late *Queen*, had commanded Her Protestant Subjects to be Array'd upon the first Invasion of the Pretender, it was given out and generally believ'd, that this Gentleman had declar'd he would neither take up Arms himself, or Advise those of his own Persuasion, this it seems had taken wind, and spread thro' the whole Country, upon which Mr. Upton thought fit to justify himself, and this Rumour a in Letter Dated, *February* the 14th. 1712-13. Printed and Publish'd in *Belfast*, wherein he owns the charge in the following Words.

Some of my Tenants (says he) came to me, and told me they were Summon'd to appear the next Day at the Array at Belfast, and desired me to know what they should do, my Answer was, if they were Summon'd they ought to appear, but for Directions, what they should do when there, I would give none, &c. Now I will give you the Reason why I did not advise them, &c. viz. That every Private Centinal, and every Militia Man by that Law, i. e. The Sacramental Test Clause, is oblig'd to take the Sacrament according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Ireland, the reason of my Opinion is, because Centinels of the Militia have that great trust reposed in them, of being the Preservation of the Garrison and Camp, &c. Therefore I did not give my advice, &c.

In another Part of this Letter, he expostulates farther upon this Point, and desires to know: By what Law could any Man be compell'd to Inlist in the Militia? What Law empower'd the Commissioners of Array, to press the Oaths upon all that were Summon'd upon that Occasion? By what Law could the Refusers be sent to Goal? And again, if my Obedience to the Law happens to promote the Pretenders Interest, he (i. e. the Person who accus'd him) reflects upon the Legislature that made such a Law, whereby Men are involv'd in such Difficulties, &c.

What Eminent Lawyer amongst us, could Determine more Peremptorily upon Points of Law than this Orator, especially in that Part of his Letter, where he justifies his Drinking an Health to our Sovereign Lords the People: His words are these, It was the People made King William King, and by the same Act Queen Ann Queen; Therefore I Drank to our Sovereign Lords the People, as the Original under God of Government.

I may take another Occasion of Animadverting upon this Heroick Epistle Printed and Publish'd at *Belfast*, and inserted in a Book call'd *an Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians*, p. 467. &c. But will only observe here that this Letter-writer seems to allow the necessity which our Constitution & the *Protestant* Interest lay under of taking up Arms, when at the same time he and his Tenants refus'd, and when almost the whole Body of the *Dissenters of Ulster* follow'd their example.

Such was the Behaviour of these untainted Loyalists upon the former Invasion of the *Pretender*, let us now observe the skip they have made from one extream to the other, at least in Expressions and Appearances.

We may observe those very Persons, who upon the first Invasion refus'd to let their Common People take Arms in Defence of their Queen & Country; Now animating their Gentlemen to act as Commissioners of Array, and Officers in the Militia and Army, contrary to their own Construction of our Laws, as if their Demands, which could not be obtain'd by refusing Arms then, were now to be answer'd by their condescending to take them.

We now see those *Teachers*, who prevail'd upon their People, neither to take Arms, or Oaths to the Queen, Riding as General-Officers of the *Kirk-Militant*, some of them in Arms at the Head of their respective Congregations, and even hindring their *Protestant Conforming Brethren* to mix with them, in Order to distinguish their Zeal and Numbers, and others pressing the Commissioners to Inlist them as Volunteers; And Even Mr. *Upton*, who neither would take Arms himself, nor advise his Sovereign Lords the People, do's now think it advisable to accept of a Commission against Law, and

has press'd the Government for the Command of a Regiment of *Militia* Dragoons, as if the *Pretender* upon his first Invasion, was not to be resisted before a Price was laid upon his Head, or as if the same Law was not in Force then, as now, and that the late Queen had not the same Title to his Allegiance which his Present Majesty has.

It is readily allow'd, that this change of the *Dissenters*, happens to be towards the Right, but still Wise Men must suspect such sudden Starts from one extream to another, one Day they tell us their Hands are ty'd, and their Swords are pad-lock'd, the next Day as their Strength returns, these *Sampsons* are for twisting off those Wyths with which they are Bound, without waiting to have them unty'd, and are for breaking open their Pad-Locks without expecting the Ceremony of a Key, and what is more extraordinary, they are for building their demands of a Legal Repeal of the *Test Act*, upon their merit of first violating that Law, under Pretence of being the King's best friends.

There was not a single Officer of the *Militia* in the Queen's time, who did not Abjure the *Pretender*, and with the greatest chearfulness take up Arms against him, and must the *Dissenters* who would not oppose him, and who avowedly countenanc'd their *Teachers* who would not Abjure him, pretend to supersede the *Conformists* at this time, and take Arms out of their hands because these Occasional Loy-
alists tell us, they resolve to act contrary to their former *Principles* and *Professions*.

Who but Mr. *Upton* would say that *Dissenters* acting in the *Militia* either as Private Men or *Voluntiers*, were liable to the Penalty of the *Test-Clause*, or that the Crown who always countenanc'd the Inlisting of *Presbyterians*

byterians in the standing Army as well as Militia, did intend to betray those honest Men into the Violation of that Law, and to expose them to the Penalty thereof, when the *Sacramental Test* was never yet requir'd from any one of them.

But to press this Argument a little farther, it is to be consider'd that the Common People are wholly govern'd by their *Kirk* Teachers and Elders, than whom I am perswaded there never were a sett of Men vested with greater Power and with less capacity of using it, either for the Advantage of themselves or the Publick, and this is what has frequently run these Nations into Difficulties and brought such just and frequent Chastisements upon themselves.

The force of this Confederacy is so united, and so little to be controul'd by any other Power, that I am perswaded, were all the *Presbyterians* of Ireland array'd and in Arms, one Synodical decree would direct the Movements of their Military bodies more than all the Commands of Lawful Authority.

Frequent instances can be given of this *Arbitrary Power* of *Kirk* Officers, when in a condition to assert their Inherent Right, they have in many Instances overul'd Acts of Parliament and the Prerogatives of the Crown, and have in effect rais'd, and disbanded Armies contrary to the Authority of both, and this appears from several Acts of the General Assemblies of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, betwixt 38. and 49. when she had arriv'd to a Plenitude of Power, nor do we want Instances of this kind even from the Records of the *Kirk* of *Ireland*, which shew us in what manner the Lord of *Ards*, who had rais'd Forces in *Ulster* by a Commission from K. Ch. the 2d. was oppos'd, by the *Presbytery* at *Bangor*, who enjoin their

People neither to List with him, or to assist the Royal Army with Money or Victuals; For the truth of which Fact, the Reader is referr'd to the Declaration of *Bangor*, Publish'd in a Paper call'd, *True-Blew Presbyterian Loyalty*.

Nor are we to admire that the *Kirk* in Power should act in this Arbitrary manner, who has so frequently maintain'd the two following Positions.

First, ' That Dominion is founded in *Presbytery*,
' *i. e.* That the right of Dominion in the Prince,
' and the Duty of Allegiance in his *Presbyterian* Sub-
' jects are founded upon the King's being a Professor
' and Maintainer of what they call the true Religi-
' on, that is of *Presbytery*.

Second, ' That the assemblies of the *Kirk* have Au-
' thority to pronounce upon the lawfulness of War
' & Peace, insomuch that altho' both the King & Par-
' liament should declare any War lawful and neces-
' sary, yet the *Kirk* by her Inherent Right, can inter-
' pose and declare such Military Engagements unlaw-
' ful, And proceed even to Excommunicate all Offi-
' cers or Soldiers who shall presume to take up Arms
' and Act by Command of the Prince, contrary to
' the Opinion of the *Kirk*.

The First of these dangerous Positions, I have fully prov'd, in a Book Publish'd *Anno*, 1713. Written professedly upon that Subject, Entitul'd, *A seasonable Enquiry into that dangerous Political Principle of the Kirk in Power*, &c.

The Second Position, is so Evident from several Acts of the General Assemblies of *Scotland*, that I am ready to prove it; when ever any Advocate of their *Kirk* shall think it seasonable to Deny it, but I am perswaded none will, since the Author of the *Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians* before-mention'd, has thought fit to Prevaricate in so gross a manner as

to deny this charge, when at the same time, he proves it so fully from Acts of General Assemblies of the *Kirk of Scotland*, this I may have Occasion to shew hereafter, and in the mean time, must earnestly entreat the Reader to see, in what an Amazing and Insolent manner this Author Argues this Point, and asserts the Substance of this Position from p. 227, to p. 238.

Now putting all these Circumstances together, viz. The inconsistency of the proceedings of the *Presbyterians* of Ireland, the Arbitrary Power of the *Teachers* and *Elders* acting in *Presbyteries* and *Synods*, and the dangerous Political Principles by which these unskilful Pilots have steer'd the People: How can the *Legislature* or *Government* safely trust these Adventurers with *Civil* and *Military Power*?

A R G U M E N T the IXth.

IT is to be Consider'd, that Offices of Publick Trust, and the Emoluments annex to them, are by Intention of the *Legislature* the Legal Properties of the *Conformists*; The Oath of Supremacy made in the 2d. of *Elizabeth*, secur'd that Property to them before the *Revolution*, as the *Sacramental Test* has done since, and therefore I desire to know what they have done to forfeit any share of that Property, or rather with what assurance the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland* can expect, they should give it up to them.

Did ever any Sect of *Dissenters* from an Establish'd Church except themselves, make such Demands, or did they when in *Power* allow any share of *Publick Trust*, or *Profit* to those whom they were pleas'd to call *Malignants*, (of which more in the ensuing Argument) are not their *Liberties* and *Properties* equally secur'd

to them as to the *Conformists*? And are they not Indulg'd not only with the free Exercise of their Religious Worship but even of their *Ecclesiastical Discipline* in the greatest Latitude?

If we Consider the Laws, as they now stand with respect to them and the *Papists*, we shall find them denied nothing, but the Guardianship of our Constitution; they have no Difficulties laid upon them in their Settlements, Purchases, or Inter-Marriages; they are not excluded from any Cities, or Towns Corporate, or hindred the use of Horses and Arms, their Teachers are not Prohibited from coming into this Kingdom, upon pain of *High-Treason* nor is their seducing the *Conformists* made a *Premunire*, *Presbyterian* Parents may send their Children to Foreign Parts, and they are capable not only of purchasing Leases for more than 31 Years, but of Free-hold Estates, and even Advowsons to Ecclesiastical Benefices, There is no Registry taken of their Teachers nor any security requir'd for their Peaceable Behaviour; under all which legal Restraints the *Papists* of *Ireland* stand at this Day,

Now from all this, it appears upon a fair and Impartial View of the Conditions of the *Church*, and *Kirk* of *Ireland*, that the latter is in some respects upon a better Foot, than the former, particularly in the Point of her *Synodical Jurisdiction*, which she now Exercises in this Kingdom, independent of the *Civil Magistrate*; whilst the *Church* deriving that Power from the *Crown* is call'd *Synodically* only with every *Parliament*, and has always acquiesced, when the Prince has not thought fit to Embody her Clergy by Provincial Writts.

But it seems all these Distinguishing Indulgences will not satisfie the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, they will compound for nothing less than the Guardianship

ship of that Constitution, to which they will not submit, the Execution of those Laws, which they will not obey, and the profits arising from Offices of Publick Trust, which are the legal Property of the *Conformists*.

A R G U M E N T. the Xth.

THEY, who are acquainted with the History of the *Kirk*, will find that she has ever acted by one Fundamental Maxim of Policy, when (in her own Phrase) *she arriv'd to a possibility to perform as Circumstances concur* ; And that maxim is to give no Toleration to any other Sect of Christians, but to Persecute them either as *Hereticks*, or *Schismatics*, and to exclude all Persons from *Publick Trust*, who will not take such *Tests*, as she shall impose.

I will give a few Instances of their Proceedings in this respect, and they shall be only such as express the sense of their collected Bodies.

In the Letter from *Sion Colledge*, directed to the Assembly of Divines, sitting at *Westminster* (and Dated 1645.) Subscrib'd by a Body of *Presbyterian Ministers*, they offer the ensuing Reasons, against the Toleration of Independency in their Churches.

First *say they because no Toleration has hitherto been Established, for any thing we know in any Christian state by the Civil Magistrate*.

Secondly, *Some of them have Solemnly Profess'd that They cannot suffer Presbytery*.

Thirdly, *to grant Them, and not to other Sectaries, &c. would be counted Injustice and great Partiality, and to grant it to all, will scarce be clear'd from great Impiety*.

Fourthly, *Independency is a Schism, now we Judge that no Schism is to be Tolerated in the Church.* 1 Cor. I. 10.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, many Mischiefs will Inevitably follow upon this Toleration, viz. causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, bitter heart-burnings will be fomented amongst Brethren; the Godly, Painful and Orthodox Ministers will be despis'd, the whole cause of Religion in Private Families will be undermined, Reciprocal duties betwixt nearest Relations will be violated, all other Sects and Heresies will be encouraged, and shelter themselves under the wings of Independency, and the whole Church of England will in a short time be swallow'd up in Confusion.

In their Harmonious Address Sign'd by Eighty Four Ministers. They Affirm ; That Toleration, is putting a Sword in a Mad Man's hand, a Cup of Poison into the hand of a Child, a Letting loose of Mad Men with Firebrands in their hands, & appointing a City of Refuge in Men's Consciences for the Devil to fly to, a Proclaiming of Liberty for Wolves to come into Christ's Fold to Prey upon the Lambs.

Thus far with Regard to the English Presbyterians, You are Next to take the Sense of the Scotch Presbyterians from Publick Acts of Their General Assemblies.

In the Exhortation of the Kirk to their Brethren of England July the 28th. 1648. They say, The Sin of both (ie) English and Scotch, Departing from the Rule of the Covenant, for as Scotland did too much connive at and comply with Malig-nants, which is the Immediate and near cause of all our Troubles ; So England, did Connive at many abominable Blasphemies, and Errors, and in complying with Sectaries, give way to their wicked Toleration.

In a Second Declaration of the Kirk to the Brethren in England, they say ; Nevertheless we are sensible of the Imminent Danger, by the growing of most
dangerous

dangerous Errors in England, and that which is call'd Liberty of Conscience, being indeed Liberty of Error, Scandal, Schism, Heresie, dishonouring of God, opposing the Truth, hindering Reformation, seducing others, &c.

This Political Principle of the *Kirk*, is so evident, that she has insert'd it, in her *Catechism*, where she profess'dly declares; That even *Tolerating a false Religion is one of the Sins forbidden by the 2d. Command*, I hope our *Dissenters* will not pretend, that the Positions contained therein, are grown obsolete; we find no Marginal Note there, to limit this exposition of the 2d. Command, and therefore may reasonably presume that all they, who from their Infancy, have imbib'd a Doctrine that even the Toleration of *Episcopacy* is a Sin, will be prepar'd to reduce it to Practice, when they arrive to a competent power; and this we may expect from the present disposition of the *Kirk of Scotland*, who Address'd against granting a legal Toleration to those of the *Episcopal* Communion, because as they said it was *Establishing Iniquity by Law*.

Agreeable to this receiv'd Doctrine of the *Kirk* Mr. *Walter Steward* in his Treatise call'd *Collections concerning the Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland*; a Book of the greatest consequence of any publish'd by them since the Revolution, Printed in *Scotland*, Anno, 1709. tells us, p. 201. That *Presbytery is Establish'd in Scotland by the 3d. Act of Parliament, 1689. And by the 3d. Act of the 1st. Session of Queen Ann's Parliament, It is Statuted and Declar'd High-Treason, to Quarrel, Impugn, or endeavour by Writing, Malicious and advis'd speaking, or other open Act or Deed, to alter or innovate the Claim of right or any Article*

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thereof, which *Act* is as a hedge about the Revolution Establishment. And after the same was Voted and Enacted, never durst any presume to offer an *Act* or Overture towards a Toleration of Prelacy.

In the Declaration of *England* and *Scotland*, Jan. the 30th. 1643. They say, ' We now give Publick ' warning to all Neuters, to rest no longer upon their ' Neutrality, but that they Address themselves speedi- ' ly to take the *Covenant*, otherwise we do declare, ' that they are to be Sentenc'd as profess'd Adversar- ' ies and Malignants : And so excessive severe and ex- act was the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, in imposing that Reli- gious Test, the *Covenant*, that I find several Synodical Acts, made for the Rigorous exaction thereof, as the Act for censuring speakers against the *Covenant*, the Act obliging all Students at their Entrance into Col- ledges, to take the *Covenant*. &c.

In the warning given by the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, after the Death of King *Charles* the 1st. They say, as the Parliament have begun, so we hope they continue, to purge out all those from Trust, that are not of known Integrity and Affection to the Cause of God (that is Presbytery) and that they, and the Officers in the Army in their respective Places, will speedily go about, Removing from the Army all Malignant and Scanda- lous Persons, also all Sectaries whom they shall find therein.

From all these Authorities, it is evident that in the sense of the *Kirk* in Power, admitting Pre- latists into Places of Publick Trust, was to Arm the Kingdom of *Antichrist*, to act against the Kingdom of *Christ*.

But what is most unreasonable in these Exactors of Religious Tests, is, that they would not allow their Protestant Brethren, a voluntary taking or re- fusing

fusing them but they were forced upon them, under no less penalty than the loss of *Liberty* and *Property*.

This is the usage which all *Prelatists* are to expect from the prevailing *Power* of the *Kirk*, & all the *Church* desires, in the midst of her repeated Provocations, is to be defended from the secret Designs or open Violence of the *Dissenters*, that she may be committed to the Protection of those who are her Real and Constant, & not her pretended and Occasional Friends, and that those Men may not have the *Executive Power* of the *Crown* and *Laws*, or be admitted into *Civil* or *Military Power*, who are bound both by Religion and Policy to Subvert our *Church*, and to give her Members no Toleration.

ARGUMENT the XIth.

I Will descend from what may seem remote and general in the former Argument to a more particular and distinct view of things ; by which the Reader may approach so near, as not only to see, but feel the palpable danger of Arming the *Dissenters* of *Ireland* with any degree of *Civil* or *Military Power* ; and therefore I will Appeal to some Facts, which have been the effects of only an imaginary and expected Repeal of the *Test*, and from them we may form a judgment of what must follow upon an actual Repeal thereof.

Sometime after the Death of our *Faithful* the 1st. excellent *Queen*, when the Ministry of this Kingdom was chang'd, it was industriously spread, and reach'd almost through the whole Kingdom. That the Clergy were all to be turn'd out of the Commission of the Peace: Upon this, the *Dissenters* especially in *Ulster*, began to re-assume their wonted Courage and Confidence,

and particularly Mr. *Mc. Gowan*, a *Presbyterian* of some Distinction in the County of *Antrim*, upon the bare credit of this Report, told the Reverend Mr. *Mathews* a Justice of Peace of that County, during the time of the Sessions at *Ballymanagh*, that within Three Months he did not doubt to see him out of Commission, and himself in his place : it is a little remarkable, that this Publick Affront was passed over, without any Reprehension, and that in all likelyhood was what embolden'd him, *Mc. Gowan* in a few Days after to go into Mr. *Mathew's* Church on *Sunday* Morning, where during the time of Divine Service, he walk'd up towards him, and Spitt directly in his Face, not one of the Congregation daring to interpose in Defence of their Minister.

Altho' I will not charge the *Dissenters* in general, with the Guilt of this execrable Fact, and am perswaded the more temperate amongst them will disclaim and condemn it : yet I may very naturally make this inference from it, if a bare Report of the Clergy's being to be turn'd out of Commission, could spirit up the *Dissenters* in general, and give this Gentleman in particular such intrepid boldness, what may the Clergy and their Friends in *Ulster* expect from their intemperate *Zealots*, were the *Sacramental Test* actually Repeal'd, were our Clergy depriv'd of the executive Power of the Laws, and Elders of the *Kirk* substituted in their Places.

There is in the *North* of *Ireland* *Fast the 2d.* one *Alexander Mc. Crakan* a *Dissenting Teacher*, of great Consideration amongst the Brother-hood, he is said to have been the 1st. who brought over Instructions from *Scotland*, to the *Dissenting Teachers* of *Ireland*, to refuse the *Oath of Abjuration*, and it seems they were

were so far Govern'd by these Directions, that from the Year 1703. until 1715. an interval of about Twelve Years, scarce any who have been call'd to Teach, or admitted Probationers in their Congregations took *That Oath*, insomuch, that I have seen a List of about 22 unqualify'd Teachers within the Compass of the County of *Antrim* only, which List was given to the Government.

This same *Mc. Crakan* was also one of those powerful Men who could diswade his Congregation from taking up Arms upon the expected Invasion of the *Pretender*; when at the same time, he rode through the Country with a Sword by his Side. And yet under all these Qualifications, he Preach'd to a numerous Congregation at *Lisburne* in contempt of the Laws, and of those who had the *Executive Power* of them. It was therefore thought of Publick Service to have him Apprehended, and he was accordingly closely pursu'd by some Justices of the Peace of the County of *Antrim*, and oblig'd to take Sanctuary in *Scotland*, from whence he soon return'd to *Lisburne*, and still persisted to Preach under the same Legal Incapacities.

This Insolence, provok'd several Gentlemen in that Country to that Degree, that they were resolv'd to take him at all hazards, and at length he was Apprehended by *West. Waring Esq;* by him given up to the Sheriff of the County of *Antrim*, and so Convey'd to the Goal of *Carrickfergus*.

The Apprehending and Committing this Offender, was then thought of the last Consequence, because *The Act to Prevent the farther growth of Popery*, had not been executed against *Presbyterian Nonjurors*, who by their frequent transgressing that *Law* with impunity began to think it Obsolete; and this was probably the reason of the increase of their Numbers, which
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was so considerable at that time, that the Grand-Jury, and Justices of the Peace of the County of *Antrim*, assur'd the *Queen* in their Address in 1712. ' That ' the *Nonjuring-Teachers* began to multiply to that ' Degree, that they found it necessary for the Publick ' Safety to put the Laws in Execution against them; nor was this Prosecution thought of greater Consequence by the Gentlemen of the Country, than by the Government; as may appear from the care the Duke of *Shrewsbury* took of this Prosecution, in sending down one of the *Queen's Councils* and a *Solicitor* in Criminal Causes, to have *Mc. Crakan* Try'd at the extraordinary Expence of the Crown.

Upon his Tryal, he was Convicted by the English Statute, for *extinguishing the hopes of the Pretender*, and after Conviction, was Committed again upon the Irish Statute, for *preventing the farther growth of Popery*.

The Gentlemen who in this manner, had taken and prosecuted this Offender, did with great justice expect the Countenance of the Government, the Grand-jury, and Justices of the Peace in that County were so well satisfy'd with this Prosecution, that they insisted upon it in their Address to the *Queen*, as an Instance of their Zeal for the *Protestant* Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hannover*.

Upon all these accounts, *Mc. Crakan's* Prosecutors were for some time very easy, and thought themselves secure in the Power they had by their Comissions of the Peace, having done a Piece of Publick Service, so well approv'd both by the Government & their Country. But in a few months after the *Queen's* death there was a reform made in the commissions of the Peace throughout the Kingdom, & in that for the County

ty of *Antrim* where the Number and Power of the *Presbyterians* prevail more than in any County of *Ireland*, it so happen'd that the Gentleman that took *Mc Crakan*, the High-Sheriff who convey'd him to Goal, and the other Justice who joyn'd with these two in committing him upon the *Irish* statute, after his Conviction upon the *English*, were all left out of the Commission; not to mention a particular Clergy-Man who had apprised the Publick of the Number & Danger of these *Non-juring Dissenting Teachers* in general, and of the Behaviour of this *Mc. Crakan* in particular.

I do not presume to charge any Publick Ministers with acting beyond their Commission, or with the Consequences of such Legal actions, as I take this Reform in the Commission to have been; but thus far I will venture to say and I hope without offence, that immediately upon this Reform of the Commission of the Peace for the County of *Antrim*, *Mc. Crakan* and his Congregation, if not the whole Body of the *Dissenters* of *Ulster*, construed all in favour of themselves, and as an Indication of the Government's dislike to this Prosecution, & how far *Mc Crakan* and his Abettors were of that Opinion the Reader may judge from the Sequel of this Relation.

Mr *Mc Crakan* observing his Prosecutors depriv'd of that Power which made them Formidable both to him & the rest of his *Non-juring Brethren*, made bold without the Ceremony of applying to the Sheriff, to enlarge himself from his Confinement; (that is in plain Terms) he made his escape out of Goal & return'd with great Resolution to his Congregation at *Lisburn*; by them he was receiv'd in Triumph & attended the Sunday following at the Meeting-House, where (as I have been inform'd by several of the Inhabitants of the Town) he Preach'd upon the Subject of his Deliver-

ance taking his text out of the 5th. Chap: of the *Acts* from the 19th. to the 27th Verse, beginning with these words ; *But the Angel of the Lord Open'd the Prison doors & brought them forth, &c.* insinuating, as must be presum'd, that his Confinement was as unjust, and his escape (by means of a corrupt Goaler) as miraculous, as that of the *Apostles*, by means of an *Angel* sent from *God*.

This fact being true in all it's Circumstances, I presume it will be readily allow'd, that *McCrakan's* escape out of Goal, the Manner of his reception by his Congregation, and the Countenance he receiv'd from so many considerable *Dissenters*, are glaring Instances of their Resolution to force their way into *Civil* and *Military Power*, and we may reasonably conclude from these Proceedings which are only the effects of an Imaginary and expected Repeal of the *Test* that an Actual Repeal thereof will be attended with much worse consequences

I presume it can be no Secret, at this *Fact the 3d.* time, to say that the *Teachers* and *Elders* of the *Kirk*, upon our late Elections in the *Province of Ulster*, have been able to spirit up the *Presbyterian Tenants*, to oppose their *Church Land Lords*, who wou'd not promise to repeal the *Test*, or whom they suspected were inclinable to preserve it; and this abstracted from all other party Opinions and Disputes.

The ferment was rais'd so high that no Importunities could prevail upon the generality of such Tenants to be directed by their Landlords, however precarious their Tenures were, or whatever obligations they lay under to their Landlords; this Project (it must be presum'd) had been the Subject of their Deliberations in *Presbyteries* and *Synods*, as it afterwards became matter of their Popular Ha-

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rangues even from the Pulpit, infomuch that Matters are come to that Pass in several Parts of *Ulster*, that the Gentlemen of the *Church* even in their own Towns and Estates, are oblig'd to apply to *Dissenting Teachers* and *Elders*, for the Interest and Voices of their own Tenants; of this, take the following Instance.

A certain *Elder* of the *Kirk* in the County of *Antrim*, who set up for *Knight of that shire*, and apply'd to the *Countess of Donegall* for her Interest, & upon her refusal, he frankly told her that he knew he was to be oppos'd by her *Ladyship*, by three *Temporal Lords* and one *Spiritual*, but that he would carry his Election in spite of them all, and he has accordingly succeeded. Now what makes this more extraordinary is, that this same *Elder* has (as I am Inform'd) but two or three *Freeholders* of his own, that a considerable Part of what he holds in that County, is by Lease from my Lord *Donegall*, and that those Noblemen and Gentlemen who oppos'd him with their whole Interest, are Possess'd of about Seaven or Eight Ninths of the Property of the whole County.

The Inferences which may be drawn from this Fact are obvious and many, I will only mention two or three.

First, a Man without much Penetration may discover, where this Spirit of Opposition arising from Inferiors, and Dependents towards their Superiors will end, should the *Dissenters* succeed in their Project of Repealing or Maiming the *Test Act*, it is plain that those Directors, who could perswade their People to refuse Arms in the very Article of danger, and to oppose their Land-Lords against their apparent Interest, may be presum'd to Direct all that Power *Civil* or *Military*, which

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the *Dissenters* shall obtain by the Repeal of the *Test*.

Secondly, This powerful Influence of their Ecclesiastical Confederacy when well consider'd, should be a seasonable warning to the *Church Land-Lords* of this Kingdom, to beware how they sink that Interest in their Country, which they are presum'd to have by their Properties into the Hands of *Presbyterian Teachers* and *Elders*, who are now become the great controllers of so many Popular Elections.

Thirdly, Gentlemen who are Members of the *Establish'd Church*, and who intend to Educate their Children in that *Religion*, would do well to consider, that our troubles & divisions are but *Temporary*, & it is hop'd will soon have an end; but that *Presbytery* has been a lasting *Faction* in the *State*, as well as a *Schism* in the *Church*; and is likely to remain a Permanent evil in our Constitutions; insomuch, that although this Generation should not feel the immediate Effects of suffering the *Kirk* to extort *Power*, from the Difficulties of the *Publick*: Yet their Posterity may be involv'd in such Distractions, as may render both their Lives and Estates Precarious, because it is Evident that all our Concessions to the *Presbyterians*, is but letting them approach towards a *Parity* of *Power*, which must necessarily end in a struggle for Superiority.

It is to be observ'd that the *Presbyterians* of *Ireland*, have Re-printed the *Solemn League, and Covenant*, and publish'd it in the same Volume, with their *Catechisms*, and *Directory*, and what is very remarkable, there have been two Editions of these Papers Printed at *Belfast*, where the *Provincial Synods* of *Ulster* generally meet, insomuch that it is impossible this could have been done without the Privity, if not the Direction of such *Assemblies*.

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When the *Dissenters* were charg'd with this Fact, & when some probable Reasons were offer'd, that their *Teachers* and *Elders* took the *Covenant* as their *Directory* requires, (or some *Oath* equivalent thereunto) they thought it seasonable in their Address to the *Queen* to deny the Fact, but now they seem to have thrown off the Mask, and begin to Maintain, not only the Doctrine of that *Covenant*, but to assert the binding Obligation thereof upon all *Presbyterians*; and upon that Foot to justify the Rebellion of 41, as well as those of *Pentland-Hills*, and *Bothwell-Bridge*, to prove this I offer the following Paragraphs out of *An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians, &c.* Printed and Publish'd at *Belfast, An. 1713.* Those (says the Compiler,) p. 548. *Who look upon English Episcopacy to be a Divine Ordinance, cannot but according to their own Principle Condemn that Covenant, for having any thing in it that tends to the Extirpation of a Divine Institution: And therefore must look upon it to be an Oath sinful in it self, on the other Hand, those who are for the Divine Right of Presbytery, are not Convinc'd that it was sinful in it self, because their Principle leads them to Approve of the matter of it, as good and Lawful, &c. The Presbyterians thought it necessary, that there should be a Reformation, and Reduction of Episcopacy, and that the same was necessary by the Command of God, and their Covenant was design'd for nothing else, but to bind Men, to what they thought God had bound them to, by his Authority, Antecedent to their Covenant.*

We all know that this has ever been the Principle of the *Kirk*, but I think since the Restoration it was never before Vindicated by the *Dissenters* of *Ireland*, in such express Terms, formerly when charg'd with this Position, they took Soil in equivocal evasions,

but now they grow so hardy as not only to assert the Equity and Lawfulness of the Covenant it self, but an eternal Obligation upon the Present, and all Future Generations to pursue the ends thereof.

Agreeable to this Doctrine, the same Author justifies the Rebellion of 41 in the words following p. 222. *as the Evils the People grown'd under, were Intollerable i. e. in the Reign of King Charles the 1st.) so their patience before they took up Arms was surprizing, and exceeded all the Instances wherein the English Nation ever resisted by Arms, the Exorbitant and Illegal will of their Princes for reducing it to bounds, for tho' the Grievances of the Nation were more in one Year of this King's Reign, than in both the Reigns of Edward the 2d. and Richard the 2d. whom their Subjects resisted, yet in this Case they waited Sixteen Years, till things grew worse, &c. and until he (i. e. the King) refus'd to put the Executive Power into such Hands as the Parliament durst Confide in, for the safety of their Lives, to Sit and do business, &c. No Laws, no Petitions, no Remonstrances, no Essay us'd, no Patience Exercis'd did prevail upon the Court, and therefore what could the Parliament and other Subjects do, but either resist by Arms, or tamely sit still, and see the Good and Happiness of Society entirely Ruin'd and Sacrific'd. What other Reasons can be given for resisting the late King James, than those which justify'd the resisting of his Father? &c. And yet the People of England waited Sixteen Years before they Resisted the Father, tho' their Patience was quite tyr'd out, before they had waited Five Years under the Son, they (i. e. the People) Resisted not the Father, till both Houses of Parliament Declar'd for it, and press'd them to it, they Resisted the Son, without looking upon themselves obliged*

obliged to wait for any such Formality, &c. Were all those Glorious Steps of Resistance King James built upon the Impregnable Foundations of Equity, Justice, and Publick Good, and to be espoused and cordially Maintain'd, as the Essential and Honourable Principles of the late happy Revolution, and shall a lesser and more Limited Resistance of King Charles the 1st. tho' supported by the same Reasons, which warranted a greater and more absolute one in the Son, be justly tax'd with Rebellion; And again p. 371. talking of the Insurrection, as he calls it at Bothwell-Bridge (He says) *If we Consider the Barbarous Treatment the Presbyterians met with before that Insurrection at Bothwell-Bridge, the Proceedings against them, being as Odious & unjustifiable as those of the Spanish Inquisition; and a manifest Violation of the Law of Nature, and Essential Liberties of Mankind; their Deplorable Case ought rather to be mention'd with Compassion, &c. and with a just abhorrence of the unnatural and Cruel Oppression by which they were driven into Defensive Arms, than with those hard Terms of Disloyalty and Rebellion.*

I will not tire the Reader with more quotations from this Book, the whole Composition of 560 P. being fill'd with Truth of the same kind, collected from all the most Villainous Papers which those times produc'd to enflame the Sectaries, and which have been Writ since, to blow up the Embers of those Rebellions, and in Truth as far as I can comprehend. The main Scope, of this same Historical Essay, seems calculated to turn the hearts of the people even against Monarchy it self, by throwing most gross and scandalous Reflections, upon all the King's Royal Ancestors, betwixt the Reformation, and the Revolution; by justifying the most Flagrant Rebellions against the Crown, and by disposing their Sovereign Lords the People, to redress what they shall please to call their Grievances. This

This Book has been published in *London*, by Advertisements in our Printed News-Papers, and I have seen it quoted in a Sermon preach'd, and Printed in *London*, as a *Magazine of Excellent History and Records* : But the great Reason, why I have given it the credit of a Quotation, is because it is the Product of the most considerable *Dissenters of Ireland*, as appears by their *Letters, Certificates, Subscriptions. &c.*

It has been hinted in the *Preface* to these *Fa7 the 5th.* Arguments, that the last Attempt which the *Dissenters* made against the *Sacramental Test*, was a concerted design 1st. to Transgress that *Law*, and then to indemnifie themselves by the Number of Offenders, that by this means, that excellent *Law* might be first Neglected, then Relax'd, and at length Repeal'd. I have shewn in what manner the Commissioners of Array return'd *Dissenting Officers* to serve in the *Militia*, and their great Superiority to the *Conformists*, in Four Regiments Array'd in the County of *Antrim*, I also affirm'd that the *Dissenters* not content with the Number of Officers Return'd, began to talk Publickly that they would be Commanded by none but those of their own Perswasion, and how far this Rumour is true, the Reader is Refer'd to the following Fact, which I had from a Gentleman of great Credit and Veracity.

On the 10th. of November last, Captain William Montgomery and Lieutenant James Bailie met at Ballywalter to raise their Militia Company, (two Commissioners of Array, Captain John Montgomery, and Mr. James Montgomery, being present, when they began to proceed upon the business, John Boyd and James Warneck advanced from the Crowd, and said they

they spoke in the name of the Parish and had Commission so to do, and told the Commissioners that they would not serve unless they knew and liked their officers, upon which one of the Commissioners reproved them and told them they ought to be laid by the heels; and accordingly ordered the Constable to apprehend Boyd who then swore that he would knock the first Man down, that offer'd to Seize him, and immediately above Thirty of them with Clubbs Resisted the High and Petty-Constables, Attack'd Lieutenant James Balie, and made several Stroaks at him. Robert Bailie a Millar as I am inform'd, has made Oath before Mr. Montgomery, that this was done by Combination of the Parishioners and several of them, said Publickly, that they Scorn'd to be Headed by Officers that were Church-Men.

Captain William Montgomery was inform'd, that Mr. Gaudy the Presbyterian Teacher, was resolv'd to Reprimand the Rioters the Sunday following from the Pulpit, and having the curiosity to go and hear, what the Teacher would say upon this Occasion, found to his surprize, that there was little laid to the Charge of the Rioters, but a great Deal to the Charge of the Gentlemen and Commissioners of Array, for offering to commit poor ignorant People, &c.

But it seems this Design of throwing Power into the Hands of the Dissenters of Ulster, was not confin'd to Commission Officers only, but it reach'd even the Private-Men, as may appear by the following Certificate, the Original whereof is in my Possession, but for some reasons, I will not mention the Subscrib'd Name.

I do hereby Certifie, that upon the 2d. Day of September, 1715. Several of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Derraghy (being Summon'd) appear'd at Belfast, in Order to be Array'd; But that several of the Church
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Men of the said Parrish were not call'd as they expected; upon which some of them spoke openly, and said, that there were several there who were not call'd, and Desir'd to know the Reason of it, but no Notice was taken of them.

I do further Declare, that when the Array was over, I heard Mr. Malcome the Dissenting Teacher of Dunmurry, ask Israel Abernethy the Constable how he came off? To which, James King a Presbyterian Elder said, that he had Omitted several of the Names of Church-Men, and that he was afraid the Constable would come to trouble about it, upon which Mr. Malcome reply'd, It's all very well, it is no matter, Given under my Hand' this 4th Day of November, 1715. J.—F.—

We may easily see by these Proceedings who they are, which divide the Protestant Intrest of Ireland, when men are contriving to take Arms out of the Hands of those, who took them up at a Critical juncture when the Dissenters laid them down, and cou'd not be perswaded to Arm in Defence of their Queen and Country. I will close this Fact with two Observations.

First, If this Artifice of Omitting the Names of Church-Men, upon the Array of Militia, has been concerted betwixt Presbyterian Constables, and their Teachers, in other Parishes of Ulster, a Man without much Penetration may see in what Manner, the Conformists Naked and Defenceless, will Lie at the Mercy of the Dissenters. *Secondly*, It must be allow'd at least a well grounded Suspicion, that these who Refus'd Arms because (as they Argu'd) they were Excluded from Offices of Trust by the Sacramental Test, may easily be perswaded not to lay them down until they have their Grievances Redress'd, for I take it to be no bad Reasoning to Argue, that where Passive Disobedience was Profess'd and Practis'd in one Case Active Disobedience may be Suspected in the other.

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